

THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT NEWSPAPER



"A periodical, like a newspaper, a book, or any other medium of didactic expression that is aimed at a certain level of the reading or listening public, cannot satisfy everyone equally; not everyone will find it useful to the same degree. The important thing is that it serve as a stimulus for everyone; after all, no publication can replace the thinking mind."
Antonio Gramsci
(Prison Notebooks 8)

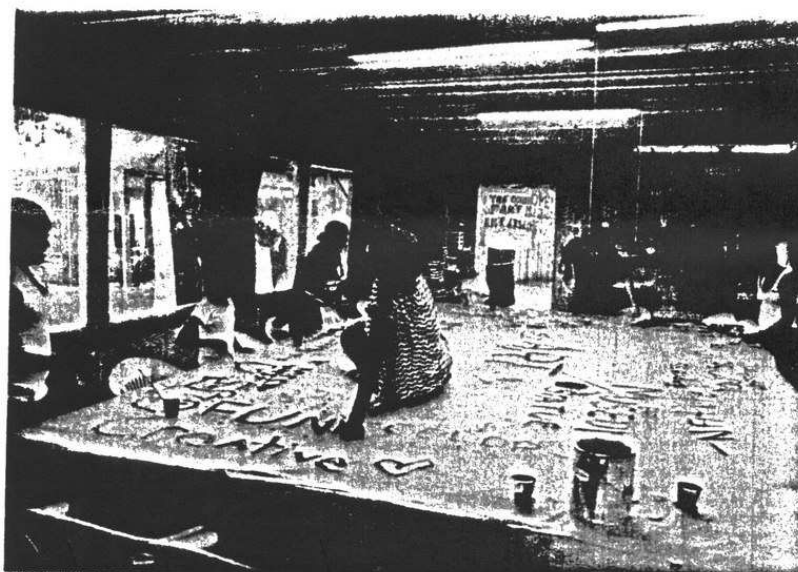
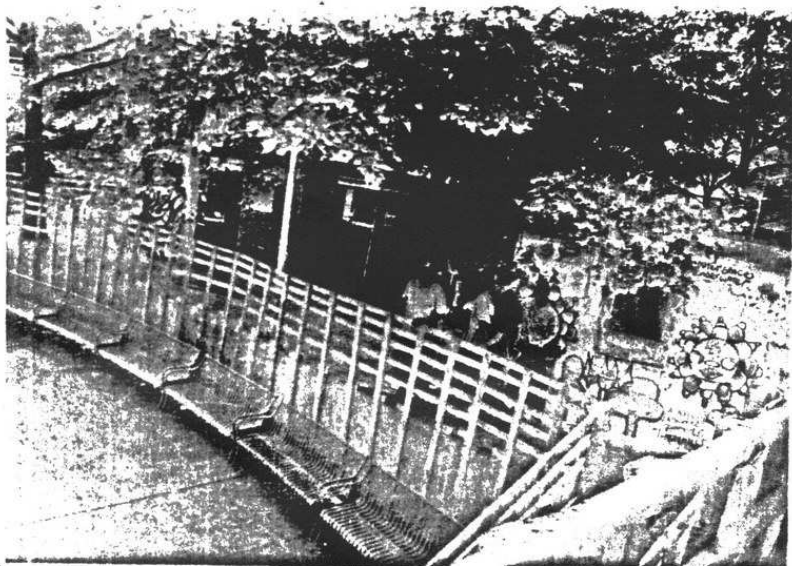


July 2nd, 2013 - Forest Houses, Bronx, NY

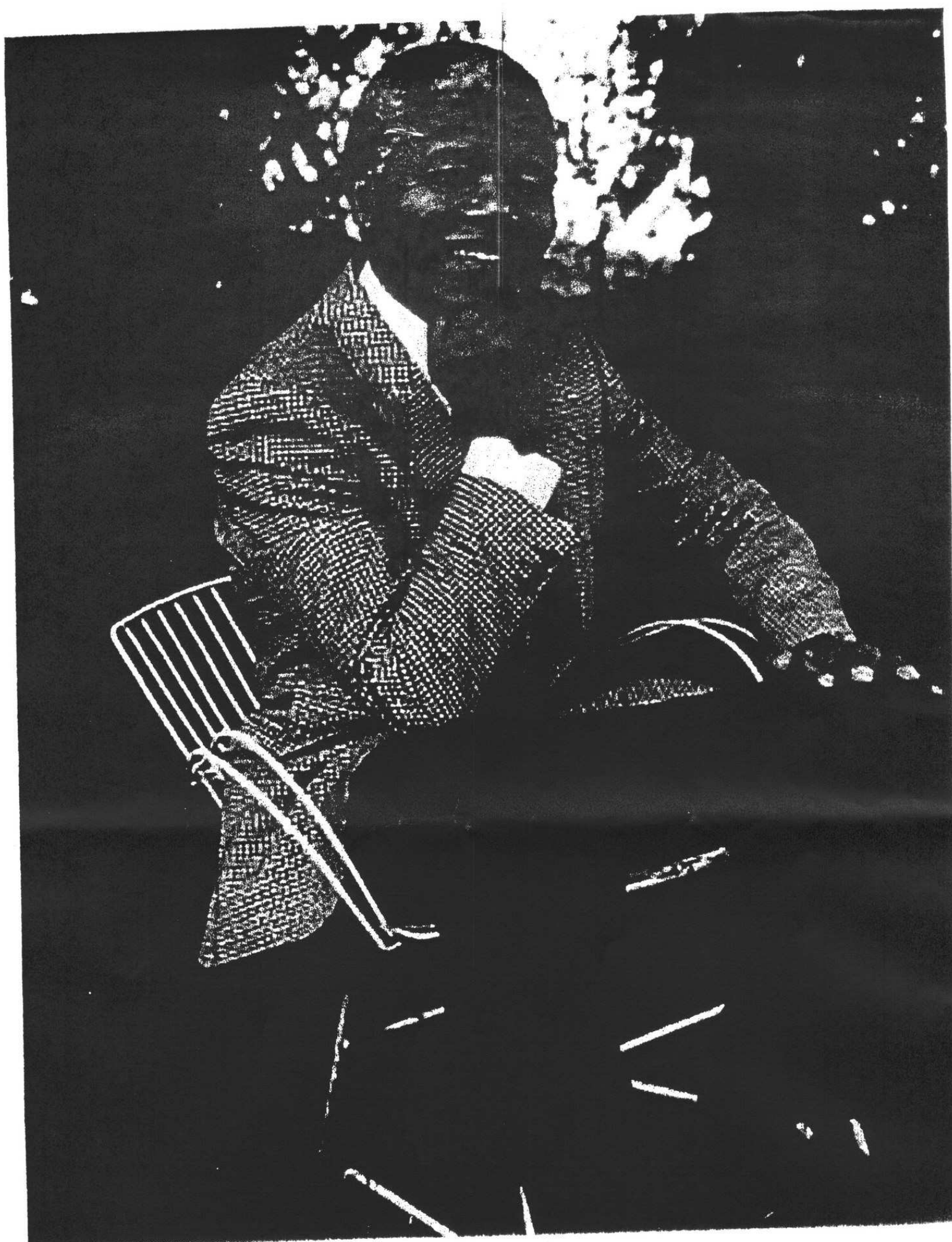
The Gramsci Monument-Newspaper is part of the "Gramsci Monument", an artwork by Thomas Hirschhorn, produced by Dia Art Foundation in co-operation with Erik Farmer and the Residents of Forest Houses

GRAND OPENING

!!!!!!!



EVEN THO THE RAIN DIDNT BOTHER TO LEAVE WE STILL HAD A CERTAIN SHINE AT THE GRAND OPENING OF THE GRAMSCI



GOD BLESS NELSON MANDELA

(Handwritten signature)

WORLD

Mandela

His 8 Lessons of Leadership

As he celebrates his 90th birthday, the world's greatest moral leader reflects on a lifetime of service—and what the rest of us can learn from it

BY RICHARD STENGEL

NELSON MANDELA HAS ALWAYS FELT MOST AT ease around children, and in some ways his greatest deprivation was that he spent 27 years without hearing a baby cry or holding a child's hand. Last month, when I visited Mandela in Johannesburg—a frailer, foggier Mandela than the one I used to know—his first instinct was to spread his arms to my two boys. Within seconds they were hugging the friendly old man who asked them what sports they liked to play and what they'd had for breakfast. While we talked, he held my son Gabriel, whose complicated middle name is Rolihlahla, Nelson Mandela's real first name. He told Gabriel the story of that name, how in Xhosa it translates as "pulling down the branch of a tree" but that its real meaning is "troublemaker."

As he celebrates his 90th birthday next week, Nelson Mandela has made enough trouble for several lifetimes. He liberated a country from a system of violent prejudice and helped unite white and black, oppressor and oppressed, in a way that had never been done before. In the 1990s I worked with Mandela for almost two years on his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*. After all that time spent in his company, I felt a terrible sense of withdrawal when the book was done; it was like the sun going out of one's life. We have seen each other occasionally over the years, but I wanted to make what might be a final visit and have my sons meet him one more time.

I also wanted to talk to him about leadership. Mandela is the closest thing the world has to a secular saint, but he would be the first to admit that he is something far more pedestrian: a politician. He overthrew apartheid and cre-

Cry freedom Mandela's raised fist has become an enduring symbol for millions in the struggle against injustice and oppression

Modern Hero
To hear TIME's managing editor Richard Stengel narrate a slide show about how Mandela inspires us, go to time.com/mandela

No. 1

Courage is not the absence of fear—it's inspiring others to move beyond it

IN 1994, DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL election campaign, Mandela got on a tiny propeller plane to fly down to the killing fields of Natal and give a speech to his Zulu supporters. I agreed to meet him at the airport, where we would continue our work after his speech. When the plane was 20 minutes from landing, one of its engines failed. Some on the plane began to panic. The only thing that calmed them was looking at Mandela, who quietly read his newspaper as if he were a commuter on his morning train to the office. The airport prepared for an emergency landing, and the pilot managed to land the plane safely. When Mandela and I got in the backseat of his bulletproof BMW that would take us to the rally, he turned to me and said, "Man, I was terrified up there!"

Mandela was often afraid during his time underground, during the Rivonia trial that led to his imprisonment, during his time on Robben Island. "Of course I was afraid!" he would tell me later. It

would have been irrational, he suggested, not to be. "I can't pretend that I'm brave and that I can beat the whole world." But as a leader, you cannot let people know. "You must put up a front."

And that's precisely what he learned to do: pretend and, through the act of appearing fearless, inspire others. It was a pantomime Mandela perfected on Robben Island, where there was much to fear. Prisoners who were with him said watching Mandela walk across the courtyard, upright and proud, was enough to keep them going for days. He knew that he was a model for others, and that gave him the strength to triumph over his own fear.

No. 2

Lead from the front—but don't leave your base behind

MANDELA IS CAGEY. IN 1985 HE WAS OPERATED on for an enlarged prostate. When he was returned to prison, he was separated from his colleagues and friends for the first time in 21 years. They protested. But as his longtime friend Ahmed Kathrada recalls, he said to them, "Wait a minute, chaps. Some good may come of this."

The good that came of it was that Mandela on his own launched negotiations with the apartheid government. This was anathema to the African National Congress (ANC). After decades of saying "prisoners cannot negotiate" and after advocating an armed struggle that would bring the government to its knees, he decided that the time was right to begin to talk to his oppressors.

When he initiated his negotiations with the government in 1985, there were many who thought he had lost it. "We thought he was selling out," says Cyril Ramaphosa, then the powerful and fiery leader of the National Union of Mineworkers. "I went to see him to tell him, What are you doing? It was an unbelievable initiative. He took a massive risk."

Mandela launched a campaign to persuade the ANC that his was the correct course. His reputation was on the line. He

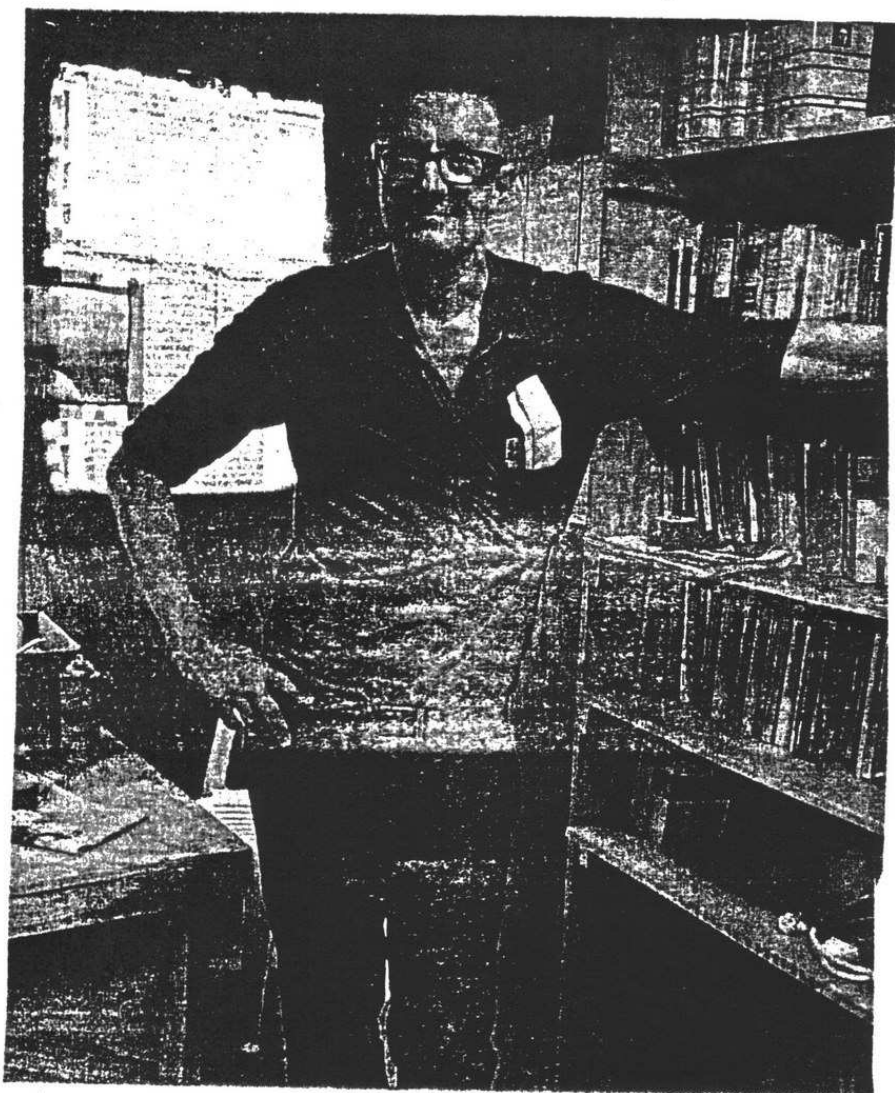
Kathrada remembers, and explained what he was doing. Slowly and deliberately, he brought them along. "You take your support base along with you," says Ramaphosa, who was secretary-general of the ANC and is now a business mogul. "Once you arrive at the beachhead, then you allow the people to move on. He's not a bubble-gum leader—chew it now and throw it away."

For Mandela, refusing to negotiate was about tactics, not principles. Throughout his life, he has always made that distinction. His unwavering principle—the overthrow of apartheid and the achievement of one man, one vote—was immutable, but almost anything that helped him get to that goal he regarded as a tactic. He is the most pragmatic of idealists.

"He's a historical man," says Ramaphosa. "He was thinking way ahead of us. He has posterity in mind: How will they view what we've done?" Prison gave him the ability to take the long view. It had to; there was no other view possible. He was thinking in terms of not days and weeks but decades. He knew history was on his side, that the result was inevitable; it was just a question of how soon and how it would be achieved. "Things will be better in the long run," he sometimes said. He always played for the long run.



THOMAS HIRSCHHORN
INTERVIEW WITH SARAH
LOOKOFSKY



Question 1:

I know that you were searching for a long time for an ideal location for your Gramsci Monument in New York. What made you finally decide on the Forest Houses in the Bronx?

Answer 1:

The decision to do the "Gramsci Monument" at 'Forest Houses' was made together with Erik Farmer. I'm not the one who selected a site. It's thanks to ERIK FARMER - a long term resident and President of the Forest Houses tenants - that the "Gramsci Monument" is where it is. Erik Farmer is the 'Key figure' for the "Gramsci Monument" in this specific neighborhood. It was him who invited me to do my work of art, with him in his neighborhood, and with the help of the local neighbors. This is why such a long time was needed for the phase of "Fieldwork": the "Fieldwork" consisted in trying to meet the residents of NYCHA-Projects and explaining my project to them. The idea guiding me during the "Fieldwork" was always: I need to encounter a person who will help me, it's not me who brings help - it's me who needs help! Therefore I am so happy that I could establish a contact with residents like Erik Farmer - to meet him is a real Encounter.

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Question 2:

You are choosing a public housing project in the USA, a country in which there are not many public services left and where many are still being dismantled. Was that part of your calculation for the Gramsci Monument?

Answer 2:

I wanted to do the "Gramsci Monument" where people of NYC are living. This is one of my ambitions for the new kind of monument I want to do: assert a location which engages everyday Life and everyday Reality. As an artist doing a work in Public Space, I can decide upon the location for the work, and I think that this issue is indeed an important one. This is why I want a location which is part of the Form of the work. Why should I put my work on the Highline, on Park Avenue or in City Hall Park when I can decide - myself - about Location? Since New York City has more than 400 000 persons living in NYCHA-Housing Projects (the US largest Public-housing), it seemed obvious to me, that the "Gramsci Monument" should take place in one of them. As one of the 300 Public Housing Projects of New York City, "Forest Houses" is also an Universal Place. And my Monument wants to be an artwork that reaches Universality.

Question 2b:

Some would argue that the Highline and City Hall Park are indeed also public spaces in New York. You very deliberately describe this project as an artwork in public space. There has been much debate about what constitutes a public space (its ownership, the people that occupy it...) How do you define it for yourself?

Answer 2b:

Of course the Highline, City Hall Park or Rockefeller Center Plaza are public spaces. But - as an artist - with a project for an artwork in public space, the decision for a location of such a work is essential. It is essential because the artist can - unlike in a museum, a gallery or even in an alternative art space - decide where to build the work. The possibilities are - not as in an institution - almost unlimited and when the artist himself or herself decides for a location there is a chance to do and to assert something new, throughout - as well - the new location. Besides - if the point is about doing art in public space - why just use a location already dedicated to art? Why not use the incredible range of possibilities offered the artist,

to redefine - in deciding for a specific location - what public space should be today? Because definitively, exhibiting in the sculpture garden of a museum is not public space - it's only "outside". And defining or redefining public space - throughout the location of an artwork - is as such already a chance, because it means already giving form to a position. It's certainly what I want to do with the "Gramsci Monument" and with the location in which it is situated.

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Question 3:

I am emailing these questions during the construction of the Monument, but before its opening. What have the initial responses to the structure been? And what are your expectations and hopes for the Gramsci Monument given your experiences with similar installations that are not within art institutions?

Answer 3:

The responses during the construction of the "Gramsci Monument" - with the construction-team of 15 residents - have been positive so far. But the real question, my hope, my ambition and also my problem - as the artist - is and will be: Are the residents coming to the "Gramsci Monument"? Are the residents having fun? Are the residents establishing a dialog or a confrontation with what the "Gramsci Monument" will produce? Are the residents hanging out there? Are the residents feeling implicated? Are the residents making encounters? Are the residents exchanging with other residents they did not know before? Are the residents seeing something of interest to them in the "Gramsci Monument" output? Are the residents thinking of Gramsci's contribution to the thinking of today? Are the residents enjoying the artwork? Are the residents contributing to the achievement of an event?

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Question 4:

You adamantly insist that you are an artist, not a social worker and that this is an artwork. You have also stated that you work differently than many socially engaged artists in that you produce an artwork for others to respond to-unlike creating a work together with a given audience. In light of these opinions, how did you decide on creating an internet corner, the workshop space, the lounge, the bar and the radio station, among other components, for this particular site?

Answer 4:

Yes, I want to establish a new term of art, as - I think - every artist wants to! My guidelines for the "Gramsci Monument" are 'Presence and Production'. These guidelines for which I am competent come from what I have experienced so far with Art in Public Space. "Presence and Production" were not developed in regard to a specific site, nor exclusively for my work in Public Space, but I developed them as such - over the years. "Presence and Production" means: I want to be present - all the time - and I want to produce something. Beyond my presence and my production, I want, through 'Presence' and 'Production' to create precarious moments of grace. Gracious moments when someone needs to be there and someone needs to be awake. In order to create the conditions for such moments, beside the condition 'Presence', I want to use, as a tool, the different 'Production' components - those you mention - and furthermore, in organizing also Daily- and Weekly-events. I understand all this as output - which can be simultaneously a beam of meaning and a beam of sense. Because a monument - today - must be a beam of meaning and sense. I hope the "Gramsci Monument" will give form to this.

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Question 5:

I wonder about how you view pedagogy in relationship to your work. You are

presenting a philosopher to an audience that does not necessarily have much of a background in philosophy and philosophical history. Is this a pedagogical project and, if not, why?

Answer 5:

The "Gramsci Monument" is an Artwork because it believes in the Autonomy, the Universality, the Assertion and the Form of itself. When Gramsci says that every human being is in Intellectual, I believe it as I believed Joseph Beuys who declared that every human being is an Artist. Such declarations are what make breakthroughs into our every day reality. And this kind of belief deserves to be lived for or to be dying for. In my work I want to give Form to this belief - that's why at "Forest Houses" - as everywhere else - the dialogue must be a dialogue or a confrontation from one to one - at the level from one human being to another human being. I want to be truthful to Gramsci's affirmation, it's as simple as that, there is no place for pedagogy, for disappointment or for cynicism. Only the passion of Equality counts and the only mission is to give Form to this belief in Equality - in doing a work of Art.

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Question 6:

Among other reasons for selecting Gramsci, you write "Because his texts are a toolbox for everybody willing to confront today's' reality." Can you explain in more detail what "tools" you think this 20th century intellectual offers to our current world situation?"

Answer 6:

I do not think of Gramsci as a 20th century intellectual as I did not think of Spinoza as a 17th century philosopher. They are just both important to me! In their lives and in their work, and this is the reason why, beside Bataille and Deleuze, I made a monument dedicated to them. They are my personal heroes - beyond centuries. Therefore I see the importance of Gramsci in all he did and lived for - to name some examples: his Philosophy of Praxis, his definition of an Intellectual, his interest in the Common Sense, his Theory of a War of Position. In our times of 'I-pad', 'I-phone', 'twitter', 'facebook', 'google', 'wikipedia' and 'wikileaks' I think that Gramsci's work makes explosive sense today.

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Question 7:

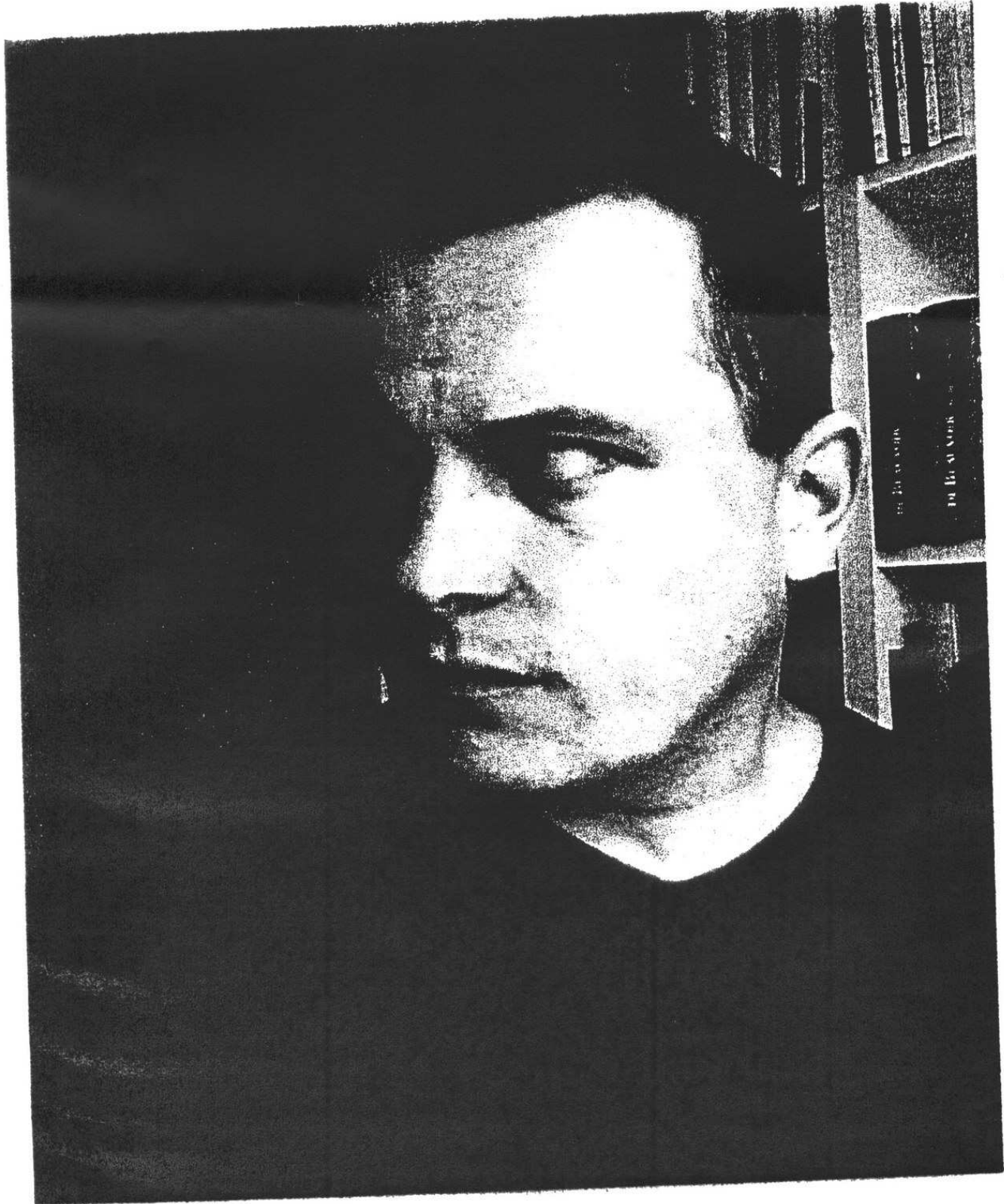
"The question of universality that you bring up is important, I think. I understand the rationale for insisting on universality as a means of critiquing the tremendous inequality that exists in the world today. However, it is also clear that people live under very different conditions, which problematizes the idea of universality. To take New York as an example like you do, this is the city with some of the most dramatic stratification of wealth in the world; where people live in very different housing; receive very different education, incommensurate health care, etc. Your monument must therefore also take this difference into account, no? In other words, that someone living in a townhouse on the Upper East Side of New York would understand Gramsci and your monument devoted to him differently from someone living in the Bronx?"

Answer 7:

Absolutely not. Universality is not negating differences nor ignoring differences. But before anything else Universality is an affirmation! A powerful, dreamful, beautiful, passionate, concentrated affirmation. Universality is the affirmation of equality, of justice, of aesthetics, of the other - with all its differences, of the real, of the one world - we all are living in, and Universality is affirmation of truth. To constantly point out the differences of context, brings us

nowhere. Because in doing this you are getting neutralized - and by saying that Gramsci can be understood differently according to where you are living, is precisely an example of a powerless and neutralized thinking of the circumstances. I am not afraid to use the term of Universality, because it is what I want to do as an artist: I want to take Position, I want to give Form to this Position, I want this Form to create - beyond the cultural and political habits - a truth, I want to create an universal truth.

A DAILY LECTURE
BY MARCUS
STEINWEG



2nd Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 2nd July 2013

WHAT IS ART?

Marcus Steinweg

Art exists only as an assertion. Every assertion is headless, blind and exaggerated. To assert headlessness itself demands of art a kind of breathless precision. The subject of art is a subject of this self-assertion. It asserts itself as a subject of breathlessness which leads it to the limit of its being as subject.¹ By subject I denote that which is irreducible to its status as object, to its objective reality. The object-status constitutes the subject's portion of reality. A subject is what transcends, transgresses, surpasses this reality since it is something other than an object codified and represented in the realm of facts. The factual codification of the subject can be neither disputed nor made absolute. It is nothing other than a fact. In relation to this fact, the subject asserts itself as a nameless resistance in order at no time to assimilate itself to the authority of facts.

¹ *À bout de souffle / Breathless* is first of all the title of one of Godard's films. Apart from that, this phrase links at least the two moments of subjectivity and flight. The subject is essentially a breathing subject. Strictly speaking, subjectivity comprises breathlessness. The subject does not breathe only to maintain itself, to survive. Just as flight in the strong sense of the word reactivated by Deleuze, can only be a flight forward, to breathe means to open oneself breathlessly to a future that remains undetermined, contingent. The subject is breathless because it involves itself with the incommensurable which can only be blindly affirmed because it marks the limit of what is knowable. To breathe means already to be out of breath, opened to the indeterminacy which life is. One does not live simply by breathing. The life of a subject begins with the acceleration of breathing beyond the vegetative imperative. Breathlessly, the subject gives itself its future by receiving it as a surprise.

WHAT'S GOING ON ? FEED BACK

Esteri

L'UNIONE SARDA.IT > Nel Mondo > New York celebra Antonio Gramsci Il volto e le idee illuminano il Bronx

Leggi i commenti (5) | Commenta



New York celebra Antonio Gramsci Il volto e le idee illuminano il Bronx



UN MURALE COL VOLTO DI GRAMSCI DA ATUAL.IT

Il progetto è dell'artista svizzero Thomas Hirschhorn. La gente del quartiere newyorkese ha realizzato il sogno in nome di un "filosofo italiano pronto a pagare il prezzo del suo impegno".

L'idea è di un artista svizzero che ha voluto coinvolgere chi abita nel Bronx nella realizzazione del progetto a Forest Houses. "Ho avuto diversi incontri con i residenti - racconta - discutere con tutti loro è stato istruttivo, divertente e veramente utile. Ho ammirato il loro impegno, il loro coinvolgimento e i loro pensieri". Perché la scelta di Gramsci? "Io sono un fan di Gramsci - ha detto l'artista in un'intervista pubblicata su exibart.com - La mia stima comprende tutto quando si parla di lui, senza eccezione. Come fan, come ogni fan, non ho nessuna critica, nessuna distanza e nessun limite. Essendo un fan non posso spiegare o giustificare, ma cercherò di chiarirla così: "Perché Gramsci?" Perché era un eroe.

Perché era un rivoluzionario. Perché era pronto a

pagare il prezzo del suo impegno.

Perché era uno stratega. Perché aveva passione per la politica. Perché definiva ogni sua singola posizione. Perché odiava l'indifferenza. Perché ha scritto i *Quaderni* e le *Lettere dal carcere*, e ogni testo è un bellissimo e forte fondamento per la formazione personale".

Il Gramsci Monument sarà il quarto edificio temporaneo dopo quelli che Hirschhorn ha dedicato ad altri tre scrittori e filosofi: Spinoza, Gilles Deleuze e Georges Bataille.

Sarà visitabile da luglio a settembre.

Visita il sito in cui è illustrato il progetto.

Lunedì 01 luglio 2013 08:34

Commenta

NEL MONDO



16:50
Egitto, l'ultimatum dell'opposizione Cinque ministri lasciano l'incarico



11:14
Papa Francesco in visita a Lampedusa Nell'isola una messa con gli immigrati



09:34
New York celebra Antonio Gramsci Il volto e le idee illuminano il Bronx



08:08
Egitto, una marea umana al Cairo poi gli scontri: 7 morti e seicento feriti



Edicola De L'Unione Sarda



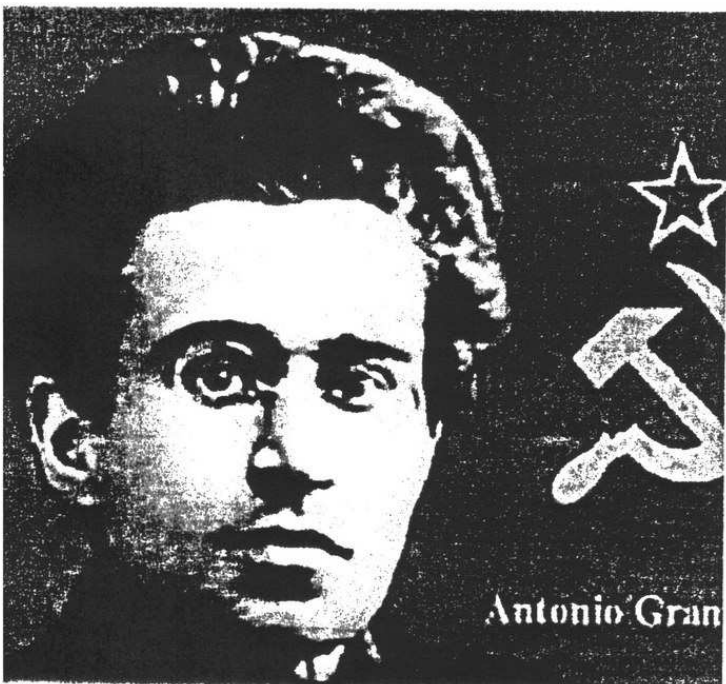
Edizione Digitale

Login Registrati



Antonio Gramsci was widely known by people active in the anti-Fascist struggle before World War II, but it was not until the appearance in 1947 of his *Letters from Prison* that his name came to the attention of a mass public in Italy. Even more than the *Prison Notebooks*, which found their audience primarily in intellectual and university circles, the *Letters* were responsible for Gramsci's extraordinary posthumous popularity among millions of readers after the war. It was the *Letters* that marked the beginning of a process that eventually saw him emerge as a political thinker whose ideas were to leave their mark not only in postwar Europe and America but in many of the countries of the third world as well.

The impact in Italy of the 1947 edition of the *Letters* was immediate and prolonged. The politically mixed jury that in 1947 awarded the Viareggio prize for nonfiction to the *Lettere dal carcere* found common ground in recognizing their artistic value. The jury also agreed that in Gramsci they had discovered "a lucid affirmer and witness" of the human condition.¹ This intense response, which was reinforced by the subsequent homage paid to Gramsci by Italy's leading philosopher, Benedetto Croce, was the prelude to a long and varied publishing history. Within six years, the *Letters* had gone through nine Italian editions, and by the mid-1960s, up to the appearance of the first critical edition, they had been translated into fifteen languages.² Today, with numerous Italian editions aimed at different audiences, and with at least nineteen foreign language editions, the *Letters from Prison* have

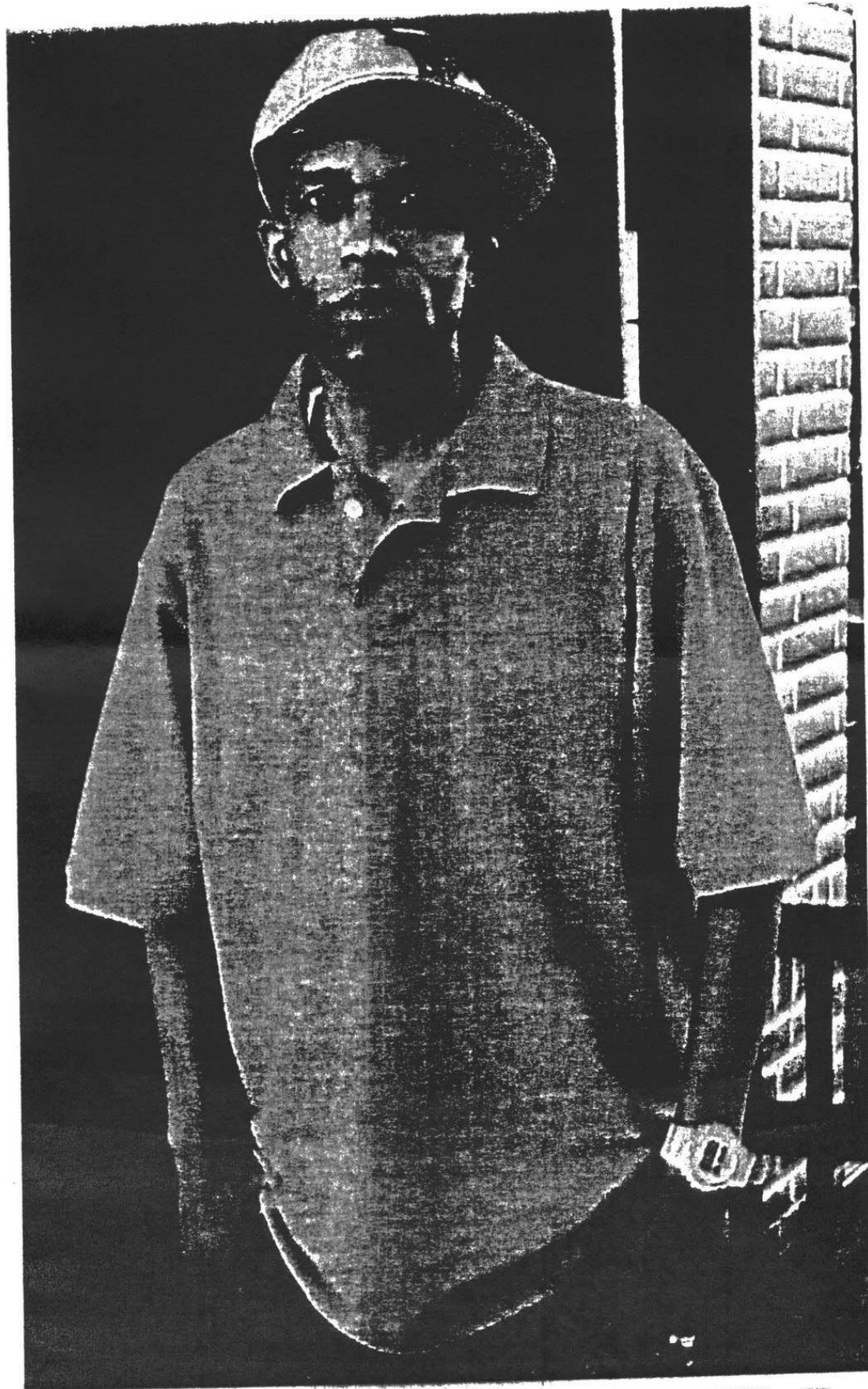


become at once a popular best-seller and a classic text for serious students of politics, philosophy, sociology, and other related fields.

As the expression of a man violently removed from the arena of political struggle in which he had been actively engaged since his teenage years in Sardinia in the first decade of this century, Gramsci's *Letters from Prison* are an excellent source of insight into both the physical and the psychological problems of prison life. In minute and meticulous detail, Gramsci composes in his letters a compendium of reflections on how he in particular and prisoners in general—especially political prisoners—contend with illness and the fear of death, with rules and regulations that efface all individuality, with prison censorship and the need for communication with the outside world. In so doing, he inadvertently paints a self-portrait that helps the reader to understand the personal qualities of a man who is still known by most people only as a great Marxist theorist and political leader. The *Letters from Prison* are an invaluable connecting thread joining Gramsci the thinker with Gramsci the individual human being. Through them, the reader can see how a man in prison reviews and reconstructs his life, tries to define his primary relationships, and struggles to maintain his sense of identity.

WHO WAS ANTONIO GRAMSCI?

RESIDENT OF THE
DAY !!!!!



JOE BUDDA

“

EVENTS !!!!!!!!

TUESDAY
RUNNING EVENT

Tuesday: RUNNING EVENT
A Running Event is an event suggested by a local resident and organized with the help of the artist. It is called Running Event because it comes from encounters and contacts engaged during the Grand Monument.

THIS WEEK,
JULY 2nd
4 pm

WEDNESDAY
POETRY SESSION

Wednesday: POETRY SESSION
There are 11 Poetry Sessions (in 11 days) and workshop. Besides reading and writing, they offer an encounter with a living, social, economic and political reality who can present and discuss his or her work.

THIS WEEK,
JULY 3rd
4 pm
Nina S. Hayden

<<GRAMSCI RADIO>>

QUESTION OF THE DAY:

What is communism
and
Why do Americans have a negative
attitude about communism?

I would guess, that if you asked 10 Americans if communism is good or bad, 9 of them would say;

ITS BAD!!

It should be pointed out that after the Russian Revolution of 1917, the newly formed Soviet Union reneged on all foreign debt (including to American banks) and confiscated foreign factories (including those of American companies). So is communism that bad or do Americans just hold grudges for a really long time?

Antonio Gramsci was a scholar, philosopher, and founder of the Italian Communist Party. Why was Gramsci attracted to communist philosophy? Drop in at the radio station and tell the neighborhood what's on your mind.

COME TO THE RADIO STATION AND ADD YOUR VOICE TO THE MIX
GRAMSCI RADIO WILL BE THE SOUND TRACK OF THE <<GRAMSCI MONUMENT>>

A SPECIAL THANK YOU TO THE
GRAMSCI MONUMENT STAFF
AND FOUNDERS

